2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU3

out being scolded; have more opportunities to exercise initiative; make choices; and develop their individuality. Such children also receives rattles, balls, dolls, wagons, etc., which the majority of small children in Tepoztlán do without. One of the wealthier families bought a toy automobile with pedals for a favorite grandchild, but large expenditures such as this are extremely rare. Even in poor families, there is indulgence toward the favorite child. In one very poor family, for example, the oldest daughter had no textbook for school because her mother had permitted the baby brother, a favorite child, to tear it up. This type of indulgence is unusual, because most Tepoztecan families are careful not to permit children to damage property.

There is little preoccupation with toilet training, and there is no conventional method or set time to accomplish it. There is almost no effort made to control urination during the first two years. If an infant tends to urinate too frequently, it is believed that the spleen is "cold" and should be warmed by an application of unguent of *ateo* and hot tallow. Bathing the child in the *temascal* is another form of treatment.

Although expressions of disgust at having to clean up bowel movements are frequent, these do not appear to be related to any deep-seated repulsion. It is the rare mother who is persistent or methodical in training her children early in bowel control. Only two informants displayed any compulsion concerning toilet training and followed a rigid procedure with their children from the age of six months. It is the more acculturated mothers who give earlier and consistent attention to toilet training.

Most mothers take their children to the corral with them two or three times a day when the children are able to walk well. Before that time, children are scolded when they soil themselves and "are called 'little pig,' so that they will be ashamed." By the time children are sixteen months or two years of age, many mothers begin to spank them hard enough to make them cry for doing their "necessities" in the wrong place. At two, some children ask to have their pants removed and can go to the corral alone. Some are able to clean themselves with a stone or leaf or paper at this age. When a child is able to tie and untie his pants, usually by four or five, he is able to go independently. After age four, children are no longer permitted to accompany their mothers to the corral.

There is a tendency for mothers to be more lenient with boys, especially favorites, than with girls in toilet training, with the result that girls are trained earlier. They are spanked and scolded more consistently and harshly, and are required to be less demanding of assistance. Boys between the ages of two and five are occasionally seen playing in the patio naked from the waist down, but more "correct" people consider it very improper to permit boys to play without pants.

Infancy ends with weaning. A child who is nursed for less than two years is generally considered to be deprived. Most mothers nurse their infants until they know that they are again pregnant, which may not be until the fifth month after conception. It is a widespread belief that it is harmful to the child to nurse while

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

boy still sleeping with his grandmother or older sister, to whom he had been transferred at the birth of another child. In the only case we have of sexual intercourse between children, a girl of eight and a boy of six, the boy said he had learned it from his older sister with whom he shared a *petate* at night.

Enuresis is very common up to the age of five and is not infrequent in boys and girls of seven. It is not considered very much of a problem, but children are sometimes scolded and shamed for doing it. Some parents attempt to curb enuresis by insisting that the children urinate before going to sleep. Children are urged to go to the patio during the night, but parents do not get up to remind them or take them. Although urine tends to pulverize the straw of the *petate*, so that eventually it must be replaced, parents do not express annoyance or concern over this. The *petates* are washed in the morning or merely set in the sun to dry. Children up to the age of seven seldom sleep on a mattress, because of enuresis.

The transition from infancy to childhood is also characterized by less care concerning cleanliness. In general, the cleanest children in Tepoztlán are infants and school children. Children between the ages of two and six are often dirty and unkempt. In more acculturated families there is greater emphasis on cleanliness. Most children are bathed and have their clothing changed once a week, usually on Sunday. In a few families children may be bathed and changed every three or five days. These families also exhort their children to wash their face and hands before eating, but most children receive no training in this until they go to school. Poorer families, which are in the majority, do not wash and change clothes often, as a matter of economy; soap is expensive, and clothing, which is scrubbed on stones, tends to wear out more quickly with frequent washings. In the past, because of greater poverty, people washed and changed clothes once in fifteen days.

Children are bathed in warm water by the mother or older sister, up to the age of seven or eight. They stand for the bath, and their bodies and hair are scrubbed with soap and a pad of rough *ixtle*. The water is poured over their heads, and the soap gets in their eyes. Children do not appear to enjoy the bath as infants do and show much fear of the water. In families in which the children early acquire a sense of shame (usually the more acculturated families), boys of five may refuse to be bathed by their mothers and will accompany their elder brothers to the ravine. Girls exhibit shame earlier than boys, concerning nudity. I saw a ten-year-old boy, stark naked in the patio, being bathed by his grandmother. He seemed a little concerned about hiding his genitals but otherwise showed no embarrassment. This situation, which is unusual in the village, was explained by the fact that the boy was an only child and the favorite of his grandmother, who had bathed him from infancy.

Except during the bath, children are never seen without clothes. Boys who are not yet toilet trained sometimes go without pants, but this is very rare over age five. On the whole, nakedness or incomplete dress is associated with poverty, neglect, and immorality. One of the major reasons given for keeping children fully clothed is to prevent masturbation.